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565 commoners, but in that case their children are not *tsunaun*, and
595 there is no possibility of their acquiring that status either by
611 courtesy or by reason of any ceremonial procedure or by payment. Children by a woman who is *tsunaun* in her own right in another village are given their full meed of honour in that village, even though they may live with their father's people. They receive a measure of recognition in their father's village, but cannot succeed to the headship there. To illustrate by a concrete case: Rus, Pinari's chief wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, was the sister of the *tsunaun* of the village of Ieta, on the southern coast of Buka, across Buka Passage. She had an elder sister, Kiots, whose son, Gerwan, was the next in succession at Ieta, but after his death, Wasē, son of Rus and Pinari, would be *tsunaun* at Ieta. Owing, as Pinari said, to his fear of 'poison', and as other people said, to pressure from his father, who was anxious to keep him among his followers, Wasē decided, on the death of his mother's elder brother, with whom he had been staying, to return and take up his residence at Kurtatchi. Here he was treated with respect as the son of Pinari, but it was explained to me that he was only 'half-*tsunaun*' in that village, and was definitely inferior in position to Kakari, Pinari's 'sister's' son. Pinari pushed him to the fore as much as he could, and did his best to play him against Kakari, whom he covertly disliked. Actually Wasē took quite a prominent part in the affairs of the village, and was to share with Kakari the responsibility for organizing the *watawutʃ* ceremony under Pinari's tuition.

565 A woman who is *tsunaun* may marry a commoner if she likes
582 him, and if he can produce the necessary large amount of cere-
611 monial currency. The children of such a marriage are *tsunaun*; the fact that their father was a commoner makes no difference at all.

565 Although it may easily happen that a *tsunaun* is possessed of
754 special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, this is inci-
789 dental to his position and not essentially connected with it. Magical knowledge is just as often the property of commoners. Sobak, one of the rain-makers of Kurtatchi, is a commoner. Pinari, the *tsunaun tʃan*, took the principal part at the ceremony for planting a new taro garden described in Chapter IX, but at a precisely comparable ceremony performed for a taro garden belonging to Tabut, that role was filled by a commoner. Examples might be multiplied. But those who are *tsunaun* are regarded as specially

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liable to come to harm through black magic, or, as they call it, 'poison', which will probably be made against them by those who are jealous of their power, though I do not think there is any implied suggestion that a *tsunaun*'s direct heirs would try to kill him in order to succeed to the headship of the lineage. Their danger is never far from the minds of members of the *tsunaun* lineage. It is responsible for some at least of the ritual surrounding the lives of all who are *tsunaun*. On the occasion of a ceremony performed for the child Wanias, I asked why wailing by the women, resembling the ritual wailing for the dead, played such a prominent part in the proceedings, and was told that it was because they were sorry for Wanias, who would probably meet his death by poison because he was *tsunaun*.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Returning again to the single individual who was our starting-point, we have now to examine his position in regard to the people to whom he is connected by ties either of blood or marriage. The relationship system is, as is to be expected in Melanesia, of the kind termed 'classificatory', in which the same term is applied to a number of individuals standing to the person who uses the term in different physiological relationships, varying much in the nearness of the blood tie between them. But in using these terms he does not lose sight of such distinctions, although they are not expressed in his nomenclature. There are always certain people who stand closer to him than others to whom he applies the same relationship term, while those who are actually farthest removed in blood, especially if also distant in residence, may mean to him almost nothing, although, when questioned, he includes them in his application of the term.[1] In every case, relatives who are also

[1] The rendering of a Melanesian relationship term by an English word belonging to our own relationship system is unsatisfactory, because it can hardly fail to suggest a spurious similarity in connotation to that which we habitually associate with the word chosen as a translation. But it would be difficult to render a native system intelligible without proceeding to the unfamiliar by way of the familiar, and it has therefore been customary to adopt, as a conventional translation for each term, the English name for the relative who, of all those to whom the term is applied, stands physiologically nearest to the individual. For example, the word applied to the mother, mother's sister, father's sister, father's other wives, father's brother's wife, &c., is conventionally translated 'mother'. This may serve so long as it is made clear that there is no confusion in the mind of the native speaker between the various individuals to whom he applies the term, and that a very definite distinction is always present between

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must keep out of sight. In the olden days, if a woman were to meet one of the *amro* carrying food to the novices, she would instantly have been speared. Now that killing is forbidden, the punishment is that all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with her in the bush. Sometimes she dies under this treatment. In any case her husband has no right to be angry or to retaliate. An occurrence such as this is the only occasion when the *amro* are allowed sexual intercourse while the novices are in the bush. Continence is necessary for them because they have to put paint on the hair of the novices, and oil on their skins. It would be harmful to the boys if any one who had had contact with a woman were to touch them. The *kwigin*, who sleep in the village, must never touch the skin of the novices. The *kwigin* are not denied intercourse, but it must take place in the hut, not at the taro garden (a very usual practice at ordinary times). Should one of them break this rule, the taro belonging to the woman who owns the garden must be thrown away, and she is forbidden to cook any more food for the novices.

Before giving the food to the novices, the *amro* must scrape off the outside of each taro, where the women's hands have touched it. This they keep for themselves, giving the boys the centre part. Only a small quantity of food is allowed. The *tsunaun* novices must eat first, commoners are not permitted to take so much as a bite till they have finished. If this rule is broken the *amro* must tell the *kwigin*, and the *kwigin* tell the women not to cook any taro for the boys next day, and for the whole day they must go hungry. The taro belonging to the *tsunaun* is kept in a separate basket hung from the roof of the hut, and if this should fall down by accident, the boys must go without their next meal.

Deprivation of food is also the penalty for fighting among the novices. For this offence all the boys must fast for two or three days, the time apparently varying according to the severity of the fight. The *amro* and the *kwigin* may not eat either, nor may those of the women who have sons among the novices. The people of the village must abstain from fighting or quarrelling among themselves; if this rule is broken the offenders must kill a pig and make a feast for the rest of the people.

Sometimes a woman will give some extra food to the *kwigin* and say: 'You go and give this piece of taro to my son.' If this becomes known, the *tsunaun* of the village will send word to some one who

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knows how to 'make poison', and he will exercise his skill against the woman, so that she will shortly die.

The boys must have their only meal of the day early in the morning, before dawn. It is essential that they should have finished their meal before the women go out to relieve themselves, which they do as soon as dawn has broken; the fact that the boys are living a long way from the village is immaterial.

A woman who is menstruating may not cook taro for the novices, nor may any one else cook it in her hut. If this rule is broken the novices will become very ill, and will waste away till they are reduced to skin and bone. The taro must always be cooked while the children of the house are asleep. If a child cries while the taro is cooking, it must not be sent to the novices, or it would make them ill. While cooking for the boys a woman must stay in the hut all the time and watch the taro, she may not leave it even for a few moments for any reason whatever.

THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

When the time for the *wapi* ceremony approaches, word is sent round to a large number of villages within walking distance, inviting the men to attend. Enormous quantities of food must be provided for the visitors, for if the amount available is insufficient, serious trouble will ensue.

If there are a number of boys ready, and a sufficiency of food, a *wapi* ceremony may be held even if there are, in the villages constituting the group, boys waiting for the *watawutf*. But no *wapi* can take place for a long time after the final ceremony (*wasipsip*) at which the hair is cut off. Boys who are of an age to put on the *upi* during such a period must wait.

The first of the two opportunities I had of witnessing the *wapi* ceremony occurred only a few days after I had taken up my residence at the village of Kurtatchi. Owing to some quarrel, the details of which I could not understand, no one from this village attended the ceremony, though they were apparently invited, as I was asked by several people why they had not come. It was held for the boys of the Hahon villages in the mountains between Soraken and Kunua. I received news of it from Mrs. Hadden, whose plantation hands had asked permission to attend.

After crossing the bay, we started inland from the coast near Soraken Plantation, being joined at intervals by crowds from other

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trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now onwards we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general dread of the forest after nightfall.

When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions, which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line continued to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess that much-coveted article.

Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing, spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi* made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not do for the novices to see them before they had received their own. The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *sror*, and that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

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place where he had been sitting, and hid the leaves in the bush. This was done to guard against the possibility of any one making bad magic against them at that place.

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Very soon we came to a broad track newly cleared, or rather hacked out, for fallen trees, banana bushes, and creepers still covered it, making progress difficult. This destruction is supposed to be the work of the *urar*, and is intended to impress the women, who will presently pass that way, with their tremendous power. This proved also to be the explanation of the destruction of the areca-palms the night before. We climbed over or pushed our way through the tangle for a short distance, and then came to a broader clearing, where some large trees had been cut down. There we found a third platform laden with food. Before it was divided a sham fight took place, with much shouting and stamping and clashing of weapons.

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From this place onwards the trail had not been cut, so some of the men went in front to clear it. They certainly did a thorough job, strewing trees and bush-tangle over a track about ten feet wide. The young men in front carried a long piece of rattan. When they came to a tree, they tied one end round the trunk, put considerable man-power on the other end, and tugged at the rattan line until the tree fell. If it offered too much resistance, they hacked at its trunk with axes, but most of the trees were soft-timbered, so it was not such a laborious undertaking as it looked. As each tree fell, its branches were lopped sufficiently to allow the crowd coming behind to scramble over it, then the vanguard went on to the next tree, slashing down all the bush tangle in their way. The result was certainly calculated to impress the uninitiated with the power of the *urar* supposed to be responsible for all this destruction.

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Presently we came to a large clearing, also freshly cut. Here a man standing on a fallen tree trunk was swinging a bull-roarer. He had another in his left hand, slightly smaller; this he used alternately with the first.

As we went on we were shown stones lodged high up in the forks of trees, said to be thrown there by the *urar*, and, in two places, big holes in the ground about six feet apart, his footprints. These were to be duly pointed out to the women when they passed that way at a later stage in the proceedings.

Finally, we crossed a river for the third time. On the bank a halt was called while the long piece of rattan that had been used

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stick, and broke off a piece of the fibre of a bush banana and fastened it to the piece of wood that flew up into the air. Then she tried swinging it, and it cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o' (imitating the bull-roarer). The woman said: 'This belongs to me, I found it.'

Then she went to her village, and some women were sitting on the women's verandah. The woman put her load of firewood down at the back of her own hut, and called out to all the women: 'All of you come here, tell all the women to come together here.' Then all the women said: 'What do you want us to come for?' She said: 'You come, I want to show you something I found in the bush.' Then all the women came together. The men stayed at the *tagoan* (front, or men's verandah). Then the woman untied her load of firewood, and took out the piece of wood and showed it to all the women. They all looked at it, and said: 'Well, what of it? You get a piece of firewood and show it to us, what is it all about?' 'That thing, that 's all, by and by you will see, I will go and make it cry out.' Then she swung it, and the piece of wood cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o'. Then all the women said: 'True, true, you have found a good thing. It belongs to us, you found it.'

Then all the men came: 'What is that crying out here?' All the women said: 'Something belonging to us, this woman found it in the bush.' Then all the men went back to their own side of the huts and talked. 'Ah, we had better get this piece of wood, it can cry out.' So the men went and took it away from the women, and they killed all the women, all the grown women and all the girls, they killed them all, except some very tiny girls, hardly more than babies; they were allowed to live because they did not know about the bull-roarer properly. Then all the men tried the bull-roarer in front of the village, and the piece of wood cried out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o'. Then all the men said: 'Ah, true, this is a good thing we have got.' When the time for the *wapi* ceremony came, all the men cut down a tree and made bull-roarers with it, and tried them, and they cried out. Since then, the bull-roarer has always been used at the *wapi* ceremony.

Bull-roarers are kept most carefully out of sight of the women. In the olden days, if a woman accidentally caught sight of one, she was immediately put to death. Nowadays, since killing is forbidden by the Government, some one would 'make poison' against her, and thus bring about her death, for which, of course, no one would be found to blame.

The shape of the instrument is fairly uniform, resembling the accompanying sketch (Fig. 8). The size varies somewhat, some being considerably smaller than others. One of the two I brought home measured 25½ in. in length by 3¾ in. at its widest part, the

881 294 686 [539] they wanted the *tsunaun* to see the hats they had made. All the men who were *tsunaun* said: 'They are good. You go now and eat some pig. You are making very sacred things.'

The teller of this story volunteered the statement that nowadays, if a woman behaved as did the woman in the tale, they would not be able to kill her, because the Government had forbidden it. [754] They would all have intercourse with her, and then somebody would 'make poison' against her and she would die, but it would not be known who was responsible for her death.

PRELIMINARIES

881 [342] When all the preparations are complete, a hut is built in the bush, and the boys must sleep there for two nights. The *amro* accompany them. During this time the boys are not allowed to eat anything except one small piece of taro. The reason given for this abstinence is that if they were to eat too much they would be too heavy to be carried on the shoulders of the *amro* during the ceremony.

881 621 574 While the boys are in the bush, the people of the village where the *watawutf* is to be held set up platforms in the centre of the village and cover them with food. All the villages which are sending boys to the ceremony help in providing this food. Vast quantities are required, as people come from villages scattered over a wide area. At the one to be held at Kurtatchi they were expecting contingents from the whole of the north coast of Bougainville and all the islands of Buka. Failure to provide enough food for the assembled multitude would in the olden days have resulted in a fight ending in the breaking up of the village, and even now resentment would be shown by wanton damage to taro crops and coco-nut palms, if nothing worse.

881 417 824 Meanwhile, a palisade has been erected round the 'long house', so high that the women cannot see over it. Then the men go into the bush and fetch two tall trees. Young canarium almonds are frequently chosen for this purpose, owing to their tall slender trunks, though they are not felled under ordinary circumstances, as their nuts are highly prized as an article of diet. If there is a *wapi* ceremony going on anywhere in the neighbourhood, these trees must be pulled up by the roots instead of being felled, otherwise the *wror* who are about in the bush will be angry.

881 824 The selected trees are called *rovor*. They are brought near, but

lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred.

preparation is the work of the women, and consists of burning the coral with a minimum of slaking. The work is carried on in the recesses of the bush, the place being kept secret and no men permitted to approach it. Large quantities are prepared at a time, at infrequent intervals.

Areca-nut and betel-pepper must be provided in abundance on every ceremonial occasion, and are always given to visitors from other villages to take home with them on their return. Each individual carries his own supply of lime, or begs a dip from his neighbour; it is not provided with the other ingredients. When in his own village the chewer of the betel-mixture will freely fling the skins about on the ground, to be swept up by the women in the course of their cleaning. They are thrown away in any convenient spot, in the case of villages on the cliff top generally over the cliff, or they may be burnt. There does not appear to be any special place for disposing of them, as is described by Ivens (1927, p. 287) for the SE. Solomons. But when on a visit to another village, particularly to one in the mountains, where there is always a feeling that the people are not to be trusted, the skins are carefully put into the little basket which everybody carries, and brought away, lest an enemy should use them for making 'bad medicine'.

Branches of areca-nuts are carried by the messengers sent out by the *tsunaun* to summon people to a ceremony. (Cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 288.)

The natives say that chewing the betel-mixture 'makes them feel strong'. I can testify that when they have plenty to chew they are livelier and more inclined to talk. It is known to them that people who chew too much of it are apt to fall into a slightly dazed and stupid condition, and there are a very few who do not like the effect it has upon them and therefore avoid it. The majority, however, obviously feel lost without it, like an inveterate smoker left without tobacco.

STORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS FOODSTUFFS

Among my collection of stories there is a large number explaining how the people came to be possessed of, or to learn to use, certain of their foodstuffs. Many of these turn on the activities of the famous 'two brothers', and are connected with a widespread series extending over a large part of the Pacific (see references in my paper on Folk-tales, 1932, p. 74). As the stories are in most cases

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because the Tabut people were sorry for the *ruanbē* (husband's parents) of Moras, the sister of the dead boys, and were not reward for the ritual weeping. Parties of women sometimes go to watch by a sick person; they will be given areca-nut and coco-nuts, some of which they will eat as they sit there; what remains will be carried home when they leave.

When guests are invited from distant villages to attend a ceremony it is customary to provide spreads of food, placed on platforms at intervals in the bush along the route, with which they can refresh themselves during the journey (*taran in a ken* means to prepare a spread of this kind). When we walked to the hill country to attend the *wapi* ceremony we came to three such places of refreshment. They took the form of a platform made of boughs, on which was placed a number of baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves plaited containing pieces of roast pig and boiled taros; others filled with the eggs of the megapode, almost ready to hatch, cooked and done up in leaves. There were also large packets of ceremonial pudding. Huge bunches of areca-nuts, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper. Guests were supposed to provide their own lime. All along the edge of the platform were hung rows of coco-nuts. The effect was most lavish. We were also plentifully supplied with similar food at the ceremony itself, consuming it in the intervals of waiting. Such displays are not entirely prompted by generosity, or even the desire to make a show, since it is the custom, when guests think that the food provided for them is inadequate, to take revenge by wrecking their hosts' plantations, breaking down their coco-nut and areca palms, and spearing their pigs. It is said that in the olden days the angry guests even went so far as to burn the village and kill many of the inhabitants, including women and children. But, on the other hand, ostentatious display of wealth by single individuals is avoided for fear of 'poison'. They say that if a man prepares a very laviah feast, all the men who know how to make poison say: 'This fellow has made a big feast, we must kill him.' 'They are angry with the man who has done so well at getting food and so they make him die with their bad medicine.'

GIFTS

People are entitled to ask for areca-nuts, coco-nuts, &c., from those who stand to them in the relation of *kiar* (sibling of the same

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XIII

MAGIC AND MEDICINE

IN the foregoing chapters of this book the magical procedure connected with various aspects of native life and activity has been described in its appropriate context, as an integral part of the situation to which it is applied. Its fundamental importance in the lives of these people will be evident. In the present chapter an attempt will be made to analyse the facts previously presented in order to arrive, if possible, at some notion of the point of view of these people with regard to magic in general. It is first necessary to give some account of an aspect of the subject which, though often mentioned, has not yet been discussed in detail—the use of magical procedure with evil intentions.

BLACK MAGIC

It is exceedingly difficult to obtain information about black magic, since those who know about it keep their knowledge very secret, especially as nowadays the Government takes a serious view of such practices. No matter how carefully I approached the subject, I was always referred to some one else, no one wishing to admit that he possessed this knowledge. What little information I managed to obtain is here given with full realization of its inadequacy.

The term for the most dreaded form of black magic is *oragun*, which was explained as meaning 'poison to kill people'. To use it against any one is *ora punin*, 'to make poison'. Every native, and more particularly every *tsunaun*, goes all his life in fear that some enemy will bring about his death by this means. I was told that if a man wishes to 'poison' some one, he plants *nibnib* in his path. *Nibnib* is the generic term for an ornamental or aromatic plant, such as is much in vogue for wearing in the hair or armlets. My informant would not tell which particular plant would be used, alleging—I thought falsely—that he did not know. Another man, after extracting a promise from me that I would not let any one know who had told me, gave me the following account: 'If a man wants to make another man die, he puts a small unripe coco-nut

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on the ground near the door of the man's hut at night. The man walks over it, then this man picks it up and puts it in the fire. Then the man dies, he has no sickness, he dies quickly. He does not lie down even for one day, he is not ill even for one night, he talks, he walks about, he is quite well, then he just dies, that 's all.' A death of this kind is called *wasō*.

A different method of 'making poison', obtained from another informant, runs as follows: 'Take the plant *korowin* (a shrub, unidentified) and burn the stem in the fire. Then put some of the buds up in the rafters of the man's house. As they dry, the man will waste away till he is nothing but skin and bone. When you want him to die, burn the buds. But if you are sorry for him by and by, and want him to get better, throw the buds away.'

In the nature of things, I could not verify or check these pieces of information, which were given to me in confidence, and it is not impossible that the vital part of the procedure was withheld; I give them, therefore, without guarantee, for what they may be worth.

In some cases it is supposed that actual poison is mixed with the food. Pinari, as *tsunaun tʃan* by right of inheritance, and paramount chief of the district by Government appointment, considers himself to be in very special danger of poison, of which he is obviously in great and constant dread. He told me that when he goes up into the mountainous hinterland he likes to eat only in one place, with a man whom he knows to be his friend. If this is impossible, he takes men with him who keep a sharp look-out and always eat with him. Another instance, said to have occurred shortly before my visit, was related to me. A man named Tatowan went to a neighbouring village, not too friendly to Kurtatchi, and ate some pig there. He returned home, but next day he died *wasō*. His death was said to have been caused by 'bad lime' given him at the meal.

The people say that a number of different kinds of leaves and roots that grow in the bush are used for 'making poison'. But no one would confess to knowing which they were or bring me any specimens, with the one exception noted in a previous paragraph. This behaviour was in marked contrast to the helpful interest they displayed in my investigations into plants used in making other kinds of 'medicine', for which they willingly scoured the bush. While it is possible that some of the plants may actually be poisonous, it is

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754 824 not at all necessary for the purposes of the sorcerer that they should be, or even that he should suppose that they were. Perfectly harmless plants could be used equally well. This question has been discussed by F. E. Williams in connexion with the Orokaiva (1928, pp. 211–14); with the conclusions there given I am in complete agreement.

754 'Poison' can also, as among other primitive peoples, be made with anything which has been connected with the person of the victim, not only fragments of hair and nails, &c., spittle, faeces and urine, but even the discarded shell of the areca-nut he has chewed, fragments of his food,[1] or the leaves he has touched with his body where he lay down to rest in the course of a journey. For this reason, when in strange country, precautions are taken not to leave anything which could be so used, where some enemy might find it. But individuals differ a great deal as to their carefulness in such matters. This is probably a question of temperament, quite unconnected with any slackening of belief on the part of the younger generation, who, in this respect at least, seem to hold to these ideas as firmly as their elders, as I observed on many occasions. My friend Marotē was one of the most meticulous. She would never even fling banana peel, &c., away in the bush where it would be lost among the foliage, as other people sometimes did. Once I was going along a bush path with a party of women, eating mangoes as we went. They threw the stones and peel away into the underbrush without scruple, but immediately afterwards took enormous pains to stamp out all traces of the betel-mixture they spat on the path. Even modern innovations due to the white man may be used for purposes of 'making poison'. On a bartering expedition with some Petats women to the mainland of Buka, I once, during a halt for refreshment, let fall some small crumbs of biscuit. The women insisted on hiding every smallest crumb before we left, looking round the while in obvious distress and whispering 'Sollos'—the name of the district in which we were. They would not say anything more at the time, but told me later that it would never do to let the Sollos people find the crumbs in case they 'made poison' against me and caused my death. These precautions are not considered necessary in one's own village, where areca-nut shells, frag-

[1] It is said that a man will sometimes offer ceremonial currency to a woman if she will procure for him some of the food of a person against whom he wishes to 'make poison'. If she refuses she will probably die.

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ments of food, and other personal rubbish are left freely lying about.

Another incident, which I mention because it illustrates the pervading consciousness of fear with which many, if not most, natives are all too familiar, occurred when I accompanied Pinari and some other villagers on a journey to the foot-hills. Shortly after we had turned inland from the coast road, we met two men belonging to a mountain village. In response to the usual question as to where they were going, they said they were 'just walking'. Pinari's suspicions were instantly aroused. He showed great uneasiness until they were out of sight, and then set to work to examine their footprints. Finding the grass bent in the opposite direction from that in which they had disappeared, he considered his suspicions confirmed—they were lying in wait to 'make poison' for the people of the village of Ruri, not far from which we were. He said that if they had been looking for opossum they would have stayed in the thicker bush, and if they had been going to Ruri on lawful business they would have said so. He kept on making remarks of this nature for hours afterwards and was clearly much disturbed in his mind about the affair, even though his own people were not immediately concerned in it.

A person who makes poison is called *gonagol*. It would appear that any evilly disposed person, either man or woman, can do this if he knows the proper methods. I did not hear of any class of persons comparable to the 'witches' described by Hocart (1925, p. 229) on Eddystone, another island of the Solomon group, whose powers are inherited. In the olden days, a man caught or suspected of making poison was punished with death. Now that the power of inflicting the death penalty has been taken away from them, the natives will either 'make poison'—legitimately, in their view under the circumstances—to cause his death in revenge, or, they may report the case to the District Officer, demanding the death of the 'poisoner' who, in their eyes, has committed murder. The sentence inflicted will probably be one of imprisonment for causing trouble, which is considered not only inexplicably lenient, but also very unsatisfactory, since, as they say, 'he comes back again and makes more poison'. I have known men to work themselves up into a perfect frenzy when discussing this matter. It seems to me that cases involving black magic present a very difficult administrative problem in this area, as doubtless in others.

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754 When a man becomes ill, and it is suspected that some one has
755 'made poison' against him, certain remedies may be used in the
hope of counteracting its effects. Typical of these is the following:
824 *Maneroa* (a plant, unidentified).

Chew pieces of the root with the betel-mixture, and spit over the body of the sick man. Scrape the skin off other pieces of the root and wrap the scrapings up in leaves. Lay this bundle on the man's thigh, just below the fork. Take a bunch of *koav* leaves and wave it over his belly with a downward motion. This will send the poison down into the bundle, and it will leave the man's body, then he will get well.

If you have to go near a place where you think some one has made poison, for example over the betel-pepper vines, scrape the stem of the plant *nin* and put it on the sole of your foot, then the poison will turn to water and will not harm you.

When an enemy has 'made poison' against the whole village (i.e. in times of general sickness, such as an epidemic), the following procedure is practised; it is said to 'turn the poison to water':

Scrape the skin of the stem of two creepers, *kuritsē* and *karamusis*, mix with scraped coco-nut meat. Rub down some 'putty nut' and mix it with the other things. Give some of the mixture to all the men in the village, who must make fires all about the place and put the mixture into the fire. This makes a dense smoke. Then take the stem of *maribean* (*Fleurya aestuans*), cut it into small lengths, and make them into bundles, wrapping them up in leaves. Plant these in the middle of all the roads leading to the village. No one in the village must eat any of the foods usually obtained from the bush, such as mangoes and canarium almonds.

For the following account of treatment for poison, in use on the island of Pororan, I am indebted to Mr. Gordon Thomas.

'In the case of a man becoming sick from supposed poisoning the "doctor-man" will prepare a drink combining the *kobol* (the young unripe coco-nut) and the juice from the leaves of a native tree *kokohak*. The preparation is made as follows: The top of the *kobol* is cut off with a knife, care being taken that the nut does not break in the cutting, otherwise the patient will die. Ten leaves from the *kokohak* tree are then picked, and the juice—a milky fluid—is allowed to drip into the *kobol*. The juice will float on the top and have the same appearance as that of pouring oil on water. After the drops of the *kokohak* have been put in, the "doctor-man" collects the ten leaves and hides himself in the bush, there to sit in meditation until his skin becomes cold and tired with waiting. When this

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stage has been reached, he will then collect the *kobol* and proceed to the house of the patient. Entering, he fastens the door, and gives the *kobol* to the patient, who drinks the mixture. The two of them then go outside the house and the "doctor-man" obtains the leaf of a native vine *pahu*. Biting off a portion himself he gives another portion to the patient, and the two masticate the leaf, mixing it with betel-nut; chewing and spitting out the masticated juices. The two then re-enter the house, and a *pahu* leaf is hung up inside the house in such a position as to hang near the face of the patient when he is sleeping. The patient goes to bed and sleeps. In his sleep he dreams that he is endeavouring to find the man who gave him the poison, but a spirit visits him in his dream and prevents him from seeing the man; explaining to him that he has not been poisoned at all. In the morning the "doctor-man" inquires of the patient as to what he has seen during the night. "I saw no man who had poisoned me" replies the patient, or words to that effect. "I am well now, I have not been poisoned, for the spirit told me so." The patient then makes a speedy recovery.'

Other forms of harmful magic. There are milder forms of harmful magic which are not considered in the same light as 'making poison', but as legitimate methods of punishing some one who has done you an injury. These were told to me in the course of discussions on the use of various plants for medicinal purposes. There was no secret about them, and they were clearly regarded in the same light as any other 'prescriptions'.

If a thief persistently steals your taro.

Scrape to a powder the bones of a crocodile, and bury some of this powder (*mesopini*) on the road to the taro garden, where the thief will walk over it. When you know that he has done so, take up the package and burn it. The thief will get a bad sore on his leg.

For a man stealing coco-nuts.

Take some leaves of the shrub *rurupari*, put them into a young coco-nut which has been emptied of its milk through the eye. Lay this on the ground in the coco-nut grove. Chew the root of the same shrub with the betel-mixture, spit on some dead branches and throw them down where the coco-nut is. When the thief comes into the grove his belly will become very painful, so that he cries out. He will not be able to walk, but will crawl home and lie down in his house. Then you must watch till the tide comes in, and then plug up the hole in the shell of the young coco-nut. This makes the thief short of breath, and he stays at

754 627 [824] home whenever the tide is high (i.e. when he ought to be out fishing), but at low tide he is always hungry and goes round asking for food. After a time he will go mad. If you are sorry for him and wish to cure him of his madness, squeeze a small plant called *bokono* into water and give it to him to drink, then he will be all right again.

Another method:

[824] Fill up a bamboo with salt water. Chew the root of the plant *gogō* and spit it into the bamboo. Lay it across the path to the coco-nut grove, where the thief will walk over it. Then watch for him secretly, and when you are sure he has walked over the bamboo, take it away and burn it. Shortly afterwards the thief will become very ill.

789 627 To revenge yourself on a man who has done you an injury, by causing the sea to break up his canoe:

[824] Get the leaves of the shrub *korōwin*, both red and green kinds. Pound them to a pulp, mix some *sisiwa* with them, and put the mixture inside a cleaned-out coco-nut shell. You must fill it quite full. Go to the shore and dip the coco-nut shell in the sea, then pull it out, and bury it in the sand among the bushes, a little above the place where the water reaches at high tide. The next tide will come up to the spot. After two days dig up the coco-nut and put it farther back, and do this every two days until the tide has come up so far that it breaks the canoe belonging to your enemy. The sea follows the coco-nut because the *sisiwa* is strong and pulls it. When you want the tide to become normal again, break the coco-nut full of mixture and throw it away.

Kakari did this at the request of Murē, because two other men had damaged Murē's *mon*. The result was to make the tide come up till it smashed up a *mon* belonging to one of these two men. (Note. *Mon* (plank canoes) are kept on the shore and are sometimes damaged by exceptionally high tides.)

789 Apart from these, it will be noticed that forms of procedure which under most circumstances may be directed towards quite legitimate ends, may at times take on an anti-social aspect, as when love magic is used to entice another man's wife. Sometimes the 'prescriptions' in my collection are accompanied by a statement to the effect that while they produce certain desirable results from the point of view of the person using them, they are harmful to his rivals, e.g. they will prevent other canoes from catching fish while your own is taking plenty, or will make your taro good and other people's bad. This is apparently accepted, at any rate no secret was made of such 'medicines', and there was no emotional tension displayed in dis-

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726 789 sticks it into his arm-band. Then he speaks to his men: "You wait, presently the enemy we are after will come up; this *wiriako* will make him come up. You have your knives and axes ready."

'The man they are after wakes up and yawns. His skin feels bad. His ears are fastened, the *urar* fasten them up, so that he cannot hear. His eyes are no good, he looks at our men and thinks they are trees. He sneezes, his belly shakes.

'Then the leader of our men takes a spear in his right hand and an axe in his left, and creeps forward with knees bent. He motions to his men to surround the place silently. They creep up, with fierce gestures. The leader jumps up, spears his man in the side, and cuts him over the head with the axe; then he takes him on his shoulders and carries him off, shouting. (All this was illustrated [537] very dramatically by Pinari, to the delight of the rest of the party.) When the fight is finished, the leader takes a pinch of *wiriako* and puts it on the front of his ear, and on his nostrils, then he eats a little of it, and it makes his stomach strong.'

To ensure that a man's aim with bow and arrow shall be straight, he may employ the following procedure:

[824] Take the root of *mwanē* (*Leptaspis Banksii*) and chew it with the betel-mixture, rub your bow and arrows with the chewed mash. Spit more of the mash on to the flower of the same plant and wear it in your hair when you go out to fight

DISCUSSION

789 754 Without entering into the controversy that has raged round the meaning of the word 'magic', I shall venture, in the pages that follow, to use it in its widest possible connotation, so as to bring together under this label all the various means, transcending his own ordinary exertions or those of his colleagues, by which an individual (or a group) within the area under consideration seeks to further purposes or to obtain objectives which seem to him desirable.

Summarizing briefly what has been said in previous chapters, it appears that the main occasions on which a native of the North-Western Solomons feels the necessity of supplementing his normal exertions may be grouped as follows:

1. At certain critical epochs in the life-history of the individual, e.g. birth, certain episodes of childhood, marriage, &c. The explicit purpose of much that is done on these occasions, as stated by the

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people themselves, is to counteract the influence of those who may be 'making poison' for the destruction of the individual concerned. It follows from this that since persons who are *tsunaun* are more subject to such machinations than commoners, the ritual prescribed for them is always more complex than that employed for the ordinary person.

2. When faced with sickness, either through some cause known to him or through what he regards as 'poison', by which he means what we are accustomed to call 'black magic'.
3. To guard against the vengeance of the *urar* (spirits of the dead), where he may have given them cause to be angry with him.
4. To ensure success in his love-making.
5. To ensure success in his efforts to provide an adequate food supply, either when a fresh start is being made, as in the case of a new garden or the use of new apparatus for the first time, or else when his unaided efforts are proving unsuccessful.
6. To avenge himself upon his enemies, or to do harm to those against whom he has a grudge.

It must be remembered—the point has been stressed by Malinowski—that the additional assistance sought is not regarded by the seeker as a substitute for his own exertions. The exhortations of the women to each other to plant well and deeply were not less vehement because the *urar* had been called upon to provide good taro in place of that which they were planting, nor did the men neglect to fence the garden because ritual precautions had been taken to prevent the pigs from spoiling it. The owner of a new fishing kite must exert himself to the utmost to obtain the ten fish necessary to the ritual belonging to it. The lover does not relax his efforts to find favour in the eyes of the woman he woos by charm and spell. But an exception to this would seem to occur in the case of black magic. The sorcerer does not try to put a spear through his victim; he goes about his lawful occasions while the 'poison' works and the man wastes away to a skeleton and subsequently dies.

I have purposely used the vague term 'various means', because some of the practices included in my analysis may deserve no more important description than 'folk-medicine', while at the other end of the scale comes the ritual involving the *urar*, most if all not of which would be admitted by most anthropologists to be religious, or at least magico-religious, which latter convenient term would probably cover most of the practices and observances to be discussed in the present context. But before discussing the principles

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TREATMENT OF THE SICK IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS[1]

114 121 DURING a residence of twelve months among the Melanesians of the north-western Solomon Islands, I had frequent opportunities of watching the natives treat one another for various forms of illness, and of collecting specimens of the plants and other substances which constitute their materia medica. The purpose of this paper is to place on record information given me by the natives themselves. No attempt will be made to deal with the subject from the standpoint of the medical practitioner, a task for which I am not qualified.

114 126 My information was obtained chiefly from the villages of Kurtatchi and Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville. It was recorded verbatim in the local dialect, and a sample of each plant was collected at the same time. Unfortunately the incompleteness or imperfect preservation of many specimens rendered their identification impossible. Many of the prescriptions were given by more than one individual independently, or the technique might be the same while the plants differed. For some of the commoner ailments, people seemed to have their own favourite remedies, as do country folk in England. Some of these are secret and were imparted to me in private, others appear to be widely known.

754 757 It is sometimes said that primitive people regard every kind of sickness as the result of black magic. No one could be more conscious, or more terrified, of the power of black magic, which he calls "bad medicine" or "poison," than is the Solomon Islander, and he is not slow to ascribe his misfortunes to the machinations of some ill-disposed person who has "made poison"

[22] [1] This paper is based on data collected between Sept. 1929 and Oct. 1930 on the islands of Buka and Bougainville, the most north-westerly of the Solomon group. I am indebted to the committee for research on problems of sex, National Research Council, Washington, D.C., for the opportunity of studying these primitive people, to the experts at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for the identification of my botanical specimens, and to Prof. C. G. Seligman for useful comments.

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against him. But, as will be seen, there are certain conditions for which what we might term natural causes are regarded as sufficient explanation. In either case, whatever is done to combat the disease is looked upon as entirely comparable to the procedure employed to ensure success in procuring food or in making love. Any substance—usually, but not always, some portion of a plant—employed in either connexion is known as *ăto*, which, in accordance with what I believe to be the native point of view, I have uniformly translated "medicine." Anyone who knows the appropriate medicine may treat a patient. The "prescriptions" are usually learned from a near relative: father, mother or mother's brother. This knowledge is not necessarily, though it may be, possessed by individuals who are skilled in "making medicine" for other purposes.

Fractures and Sprains

A sprain or a strained muscle is described by the same term as a fracture (*takok* = broken). I met one man (at Petats, an islet off the west coast of Buka) and three women (at Kurtatchi) who were known for their skill in such cases. They treated patients of both sexes, except persons to whom they stood in certain taboo relationships which prohibited physical contact. The following procedure is typical:

Ketar, a young woman, strained her shoulder by carrying too heavy a load of taro. I watched her being treated by Pari, an elderly woman, who subsequently gave me details of the secret mixture she used, asking me not to tell any of the other natives. This mixture (*röm*) consisted of the pulped roots of a plant called *tengnamani* (*Justicia* sp.) mixed with a quantity of *oin* (a red powder, a variety of iron oxide, much used in this region for various magical purposes) and stirred into sea water. Pari has taught the secret to her sister's son, together with the method of using the mixture. At Tabut the root of *wamömö* (*Erythrina*, the "coral tree") is used in the same manner. When it was ready she took up her lime pot and, putting it close to her mouth, called softly, many times, "Pispoa, Pispoa, Pispoa." Pispoa is the name of the spirit of a man who, when he was alive, was successful with this treatment. Pispoa then came and